

601 A woman called her more or less permanent mate *ahana* (*vahana* or *vahaka*); but she also applied the term, specifically, to his brothers and to her sisters' husbands, and, in a general sense, to all the men of marriageable age in the tribe. *Ahana* meaning part or half of anything, did not, however, mean man or male in a general sense but definitely husband.

A man called his wife's brothers and sisters' husbands *toete*; a woman applied the same term to her husband's sisters and her brothers' wives. That is to say, for a man *toete* meant brother-in-law; for a woman, sister-in-law. A man called both his wife's parents *motunoai*, and they called him *hunona*, and so, likewise, with a woman and her husband's parents. *Toupu'una* was a term mutually applied to each other by parents-in-law. *Pekio* described men who came as secondary husbands of a woman, or women who were secondary wives of a man. (See Marriage.) Thus *ahana pekio*, secondary husband; *vehine pekio*, secondary wife. The *ahana pekio* was called also *tahu ahi*, because he tended the fire of the proprietor of the establishment. The same terms were used for step-parents and step-children as for true parents and children.

Sisters were *tuehine* to a male, brothers were *tunane* (*tukane*, *tu'ane*) to a female. *Tuaana* (*tuakana*) meant older brothers for a male, older sisters for a female; *teina* signified younger in the same sense. The same terms used between brothers and sisters were applied also to first cousins. But *tuaana* was applied specifically to cousins of the same sex who were children of a father's or mother's younger brother or younger sister. *Tua'ana kui* meant mother's older sister; *teina motua* meant father's younger brother. These terms evidence the strict regard for priority in genealogical descent, which extended even to this degree in personal relationship. Dordillon gives *kütitohe* and *kopatia* as meaning younger brother or sister.

• [604] The cross relationships were among the most interesting features in the native system. There was a close ceremonial bond between every child and the father's sisters (*tuehine*) and brothers-in-law (*toete*) and the mother's brothers (*tunane*) and sisters-in-law (*toete*), all of whom were called by the child his *pahupahu*. They in turn spoke of the child as their *i'amutu*. Male and female *i'amutu* were distinguished as *i'amutu tama* and *i'amutu mo'i*. Ceremonially the bond between *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* was closer than that between parents and children. While one was not [582] allowed to marry the child of one's father's brother or mother's sister, the most approved marriage that could be made was with the child of one's *pahupahu*. The wife or husband of one's *i'amutu* was also called *i'amutu*. No special term applicable to cousins who were children of *pahupahu* was

601 Some outstanding features of the relationship system deserve to be pointed out particularly. In the first place there is evidence that at one time the native social order or that of the people's ancestors belonged to, or was influenced by, that type known as the classificatory system. This evidence consists of the fact that a man called all women of marriageable age *vehine*—the same term as that used for wife, and that a woman called all men of marriageable age *ahana* (husband). A child called all men of his father's age *motua* (father). Further evidence of a former existence of the classificatory system is given in the age-class terms.

601 It is to be noted that the brother and sister relationship was applied also first cousins and, furthermore, that the parent-child relationship was conceived of as existing also between uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. In the relationships between brothers and sisters and between male and female cousins the use of different terms by the opposite sexes and the specification of seniority as between two members of the same sex are to be noticed.

582 604 The most interesting feature of the system is the relationship existing between father's sister or mother's brother and their children, both male and female. This is the *pahupahu* and *iamutu* relationship. The origin of this seems to have been in the regulations controlling marriage, which allowed a man to have sexual relationship at times with his wife's sisters or his brothers' wives and a woman with her husband's brothers or her sisters' husbands. Out of this grew also marriage restrictions that classed cousins who were children of a mother's sister or a father's brother in the same category as full brothers and sisters and forbade the marriage of such cousins on the ground that that relationship was too close.

602 835 Understanding of the native's conception regarding marriage and relationship is necessary to explain these conventions. It is sexual relations, rather than blood, that is the basis of the primary degrees of relationship in the system. *Ahana* was the term used by a woman for her husband and also for his brothers; *vehine* was used by a man for his wife and also for her sisters. Now it has been pointed out that the application of the terms for husband and wife to husband's brothers and sisters' husbands, and to wife's sisters and brother's wives, was not merely figurative but was justified by sexual rights that made the use of the term literal—the wife's sister or brother's wife was at times to all intents and purposes, the man's wife. Therefore the children of the sisters of a man's wife, even though they might actually be—as they usually were—the children of another man, were regarded as the man's children and were called by him by the same terms as his own children, *tama* and *mo'i*. Similarly the children of the brothers of a woman's husband were regarded as her own. On the other

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, 552
had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but 778
they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the
attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated,
it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was
supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. 552
An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had
distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve
different members being named, the most honorable names
being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such ex-551
changes the personality of each participant was fused with that [572]
of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his
own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use
the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the
victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with [552]
which a man was killed might also be given the name of the
victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship 551
by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable 608
freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*,
or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa*
with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in
the same relation to his relatives as he did.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. 619
There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in 611
theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members
traced connection with an original ancestor, either through
actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from 604
those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters,
were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were
the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all
ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

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604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

173 Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long genealogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for 611 sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students 611 of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position; and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

619 The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members
[517] had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

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once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. 658
 When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. 604 ●
 These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household. 858

SOCIAL GRADING

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having 622
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aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.